### THE SECESSION MOVEMENT.

Interesting from Charleston.

ALETTER FROM VIRGINIA.

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MESSAGE OF THE GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA.

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SOUTH CAROLINA ABOUT TO SEIZE THE FORTS.

From Our Own Correspondent.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Dec. 1, 1860. The meeting at Institute Hall, last evening, at which the Hon, C. G. Meminger was the principal speaker, was large and enthusiastic. I expected to see a full report in the papers of this morning, but am disappointed, there being not so much as a single word on the subject. Mayor Macbeth presided, and the long list of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries embraced, so far as it could, the representative men of the most influential classes. Several clergymen were on the platform. As to the sentiments uttered. and the approval given to them, the meeting was thoroughgoing. Instead of any concealment, or gingerly handling of the question of secession, there was a manly, bold, unqualified declaration. which may be summed up in the language l have employed so frequently, that South Carolina intends to secede, make herself wholly and immediately independent of the Federal Government, and that, should the Government put itself in her way, or attempt to frustrate her plans, she will fight, and not yield till she is subjugated by force.

Mr. Meminger, who is counted one of the best

men in the State, at the outset disclaimed any wish to stir up the passions of men; he wished solely to appeal to their reason. He went over the argument touching the rights of a State to secede, the relative power of the State and Federal Government, and the probable results, which be did not doubt would be beneficial and satisfacfory. He said that, within three days after the Convention shall have met (on the 17th inst.). South Carolina would be declared out of the Union: that a Commissioner would be sent to Washington to treat concerning the Forts and other Federal property, which would be formally demanded as belonging to South Carolina, as the quota she was entitled to draw from the broken copartnership; that if said forts and property were not duly given up and quitclaimed, the armed men of South Carolina would take them, The they stood ready to do at any moment. It was what they would do as surely as they were not given up. Should the General Government undertake to garrison the forts with soldiers. South Carolina would act first; her young men, eager for the time to come, would be there before the Federal Government, prepared to bid defiance to it. These utterances brought forth a perfect storm of applause. There could be no mistaking the unreserved heartiness of the response. Indeed, whenever the speaker touched upon the idea of the inevitableness of the event, at the earliest day, the applause was instant and hearty. But would things come to this pass? inquired the speaker. He did not doubt it, should the General Government attempt te interfere with the State. Whether or not it would, he was not prepared to express a decided opinion. He seemed to think the chances against it, so far as Mr. Buchanan was concerned; who, he said, was about going out of office, and had a strong disposition to avoid entering the hostile arena. The time was unfavorable for the Government, and for the same reasons highly favorable for the State. Mr. Lincoln, it was contended, owerless. The Force bill has spent itself by limitation; Congress would not pass another; the incoming President would experience great difficulty in organizing the Government in all its departments, in finding men who would do his will or execute the laws; and much time would conseque tly elapse before the Government, even if the purpose existed, would be in a situation to attempt coercion on South Carolina. By that time, her sister Cotton States would be alongside of her. Of that he was quite confident. South Carolina would not be left to fight her battles alone. She could procure troops to-day even from Virginia, which State, though not prepared to secede, was ready to fight! This hit at the Old Dominion was much relished, on account of the manner in which she treated South Carolina's Commissioner a year ago (this same Mr. Meminger), the feeling engendered by which act now goes so far that some of the most violent declare that they will not go into a Southern Confederacy along with Virginia.

Mr. Meminger concluded by exhorting the peo ple to be ready. The Legislature, now in session, would provide the ways and means; let every man be in an armed attitude, for nothing was so effective as to let your enemy know that you are ready, steady, and determined. Speaking of coercion by the Federal Government, he said that the first attempt at it South Carolina would regard as cause for war, and that she would be justified and right on the record !

While these things are going on in Charleston, the Legislature, at Columbia, is engaged on matters not less important or significant. The Special Joint Committee on Postal Arrangements are arduously engaged in the preparation of a postal system, as a substitute for that of the General Government. The control of the electric telegraph is to be provided for; and it is proposed to make it a State institution, with a general Associated Press arragement, which, it is contended, would be a source of revenue to the State. The sum of \$6,000 will be appropriated to the Charleston Marine School for the

current year. It is thought that the session will be protracted till February or March, with a recess for the Holidays. An active canvass is going on for the post of Governor, which office is to be filled soon by the Legislature. The contest appears to have been narrowed down between the Hon. James Cheenut and Mr. B. J. Johnson. The present Governor, Gist, is not thought the man for the emergency. One of a stiffer sort is wanted, for great powers will be placed in his hands.

MR. COBB'S SECESSION.

Prom Our Own Correspo WASHINGTON, Dec. 2, 1860. The immediate danger of a disruption of the Cabinet has passed, and although Mr. Cobb may

retire if elected a delegate to the Georgia Con-

vention, no radical disagreement in regard to the Message can be assigned as the moving cause. But for a concession by the President, in which he abandoned some of the strongest ground against the abstract right of Secession, a separation was inevitable. He succeeded in diluting his doctrine sufficiently to command the united assent of the Cabinet on Friday. They are now harmonious, or, in the more courtly phrase of the day, a unit. To make up for his reflections on the course of South Carolina, the President has not been at all sparing of his censure upon the "sec-tional" aspect of the recent election, and has revived his stale warnings of that tendency, forgetting that if the North has spoken in any such spirit, it is in resentment of outrages inflicted by himself and his Administration. He sectionalized power and used it to crush out the rights of the majority. They have now risen up and annihilated the party which carried him into office, leaving nothing but the fragments, scattered like the wreck of a stranded ship

on the shore.

It is very evident that the Disunionists will wage a fierce war upon the President, for his opinions against the right of secession. And when that conflict begins, the South must split upon the issue of sustaining the principle which he advocates, or of joining the standard of rebellion. Any division must be attended with advantage, for the moral strength of their present position is derived from its compactness and unity, in the Cotton States especially. Mr. Buchanan is entitled to address the South more than any other public man in the North, because he has made sacrifices for it which deserve recognition. There is a large interest in that section which will find its justification in supporting his views on account of these services, though they only want a good reason for opposing the extremists, who are bent upon rule or ruin.

The Republicans have come here in no exultant mood. They take their victory becomingly, and as a matter of course. So far as the present excitement is concerned, it is difficult to see wherein they can compose it by any action in Congress. All their feelings are against agitation of any sort, and in favor of peace and quiet. They are prepared to do the public business, and anxious and ready to proceed with it. If others think proper to drag ex-citing topics into the halls of legislation, they must take the whole responsibility. And, in that event, the Republicans are inclined to give them full swing, and to leave the controversy with the South, where

it properly belongs. The Charleston Mercury calls for her sons in the army and navy to come home. They ought to answer this summons by all means, and so ought they who are in the civil service. The only one who has yet resigned in this city is the late chief clerk of the Census Office. Commodore Shubrick, who is now next to the veteran Stewart in the Navy, has been much exercised as to his course, South Carolina has shown her teeth. In view of this peculiar notice from the organ of the ultras it may be supposed that every Federal officeholder from the Palmetto State who fails to return now, be denounced as an Abolitionist. Many of

them are under suspicion already.

Mr. Black, the Attorney-General, is not to be cominated as Judge of the Supreme Court in place of Judge Daniel, deceased, and Judge Taney has no idea of resigning, and never had. Caleb Cushing, who has been heisting flags and making speeches for that purpose. If he shall be nominated, perhaps there will be some little consultation over the case. At least, there are a few Republicans who would like to overhaul brother Caleb. They fear he is entirely oo sectional for that Court, and remember that h spoke and voted against the admission of Arkansas, nerely because her Constitution recognized Slavery and for no other reason. The Democrats took car to keep the nomination of Mr. Crittenden for a seat on this bench, when made by President Adams, suspended, until General Jackson came into power, then it was filled with one of their own set. when it was filled with one of their own set. When Mr. Fillmore nominated Mr. Badger for a similar vacancy, he was also kept suspended, until General Pierce came in, and appointed Judge Campbell. These are orthodox precedents, and they are likely to be regarded, if the Republicans can command sufficient force. Judge Black will settle down to the practice of the law in this city after the 4th

# FROM VIRGINIA.

RICHMOND, Va., Dec. 3, 1860. The eighty-fourth year of our National Independence found the Federal cluster of these glorious States in creased from thirteen to thirty-three, and our population grown from three millions to thirty millions also found the sails of our ships whitening every sea, the flag of our country floating in every clime, and our name a power on the earth second to none other. In the world's history our growth was unparalleled-not a century old, and stretching our mighty from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf. All nations sought our friendship. The name of an American citizen was one which swelled the bosom with pride, and secured to all who could claim t respect and protection in every land where civilization reigned. And not only in material greatness had we grown, but in art and in science, in philosophy and refinement, in our schools and colleges, our missionary enterprises, our asylums and hospitals for every form o ffliction and disease, and in the bright names we added to the world's catalogue of the beloved and the honored. It was pleasing to meditate on these things, to exult in our country's prosperity and renown, and to reflect that he honor, the growth, and the glory of this favored and were in our keeping as a sacred beritage to be

handed down by us to our posterity.

But the fint has gone forth against so glorious a cor summation. Ambition, that sin by which the angels fell, tempts to the betraval of this mighty trust; disappointed lust of power howls for disunion, and trease stalks through the land with brazen front. Instead of happy, united, and powerful people, the 4th of July, 1861, will find us broken into fragments, distracted by internal dissensions, a prey to the first great power which may step in to take advantage of " s ouse divided against itself," and footballs for scheming and unprincipled politicians. What a degrading spectacle to present to the world!

And yet, such will undoubtedly be our condition and our end, should any attempt be made to coerce South Carolins, in the event of the secession of that State. That she will secode is no longer a matter of doubt with the reflecting portion of the people of Virginia. it is almost universally conceded here, that there are now only thirty-two States in this Confederacy; that be Union is already dissolved. It is supposed that the Legislature of Virginia, which is to meet on the 5th of January, will propose a conference of the Southern Too late! The precipitancy of the Cotton States has already rendered it so. There have been no eally disunion meetings held in any portion of the Old Dominion yet, and not the slightest unusual military activity; but resolutions have been adopted in several of her counties and towns, declaring the inexpediency of going out of the Confederacy until further develop nents of an aggressive character on the part of the Republicans against the South.

The only military movement in agitation, of which I bear, is that a party of gentlemen in this city contemplate the formation of a new volunteer battalion, to be rmed with double-barrel shot guns, five-shooters, and owie-knives, and to be "subject to the call of the Governor whenever the rights of the Sante are

invaded. Virginia has already 25,000 men, uniformed and quirped, ready to move at a moment's notice. This eing no insignificant force, and not being apprehensive of immediate "invasion," the people feel quite

The negro convicts in the State Penitentiary, num bering 150, not engaged in mechanical operations, have been awarded, according to law, to the highest bidders for their labor, Messrs. R. F. & D. G. Bibb. Those gentlemen have an extensive contract on the Covington and Ohio Railroad, and are among the most reliable and experienced contractors in the United States. I understand there were many competitors for the ser-vices of these convicts. They are a vast deal of trouble, and the expense of guarding them is consider-

able; but even with this expense, their labor will be f and much cheaper than any other that can be ob-

tained. Mr. Joseph Jefferson, the famous American comedian commences an engagement at the Marshall Theater tonight, as Bob Acres, in "The Rivals." He has always been a favorite here, and will attract large crowds to witness his inimitable impersonations. Miss Caroline Richings is giving concerts at Metropolitan Hall. She eings well, and has many admirers here; but I think the is greatly overrated.

George Christy's Minstrels closed a profitable sories of their burnt cork performances at Mechanics' Hall on Saturday night. They are considered the best in their line that have ever visited this city.

Trade still remains exceedingly dull, and, as a consequence, the number of unemployed persons is increasing, and must continue to increase until the affairs of the country become more settled and the usual commercial intercourse between the two sections is resomed. The banks are discounting quite freely, but the money market is yet far from being easy, and merclants-but especially small tradesmen-are still much ambarrassed.

There is much anxiety felt here to-day to hear from Congress. The circumstances under which they mee are such as never existed before, and excite the gloomiest apprehensions. The number of Senators and Representatives now in Washington is unusually small, and perhaps nothing of great importance will trans pire until there is a fuller attendance. But it is feared that the Message of Mr. Buchanan will at once give rise to angry discussion-culminating in what, no can predict. One single imprudent expression, and the fires which are slumbering will at once burst into a

It is rumored that Gov. Letcher will shortly re quest the clergy of the State to agree upon some day for fasting and prayer, to avert the evil of disunion.

A rencounter took place, on Saturday, on Seventh street, between Main and Franklin, between a man from Washington and the husband of a lady who keeps a boarding-house in that portion of the ty. The Wash ingtenian came to this city the week previous, and engaged board for himself, his wife, and two children. The wife and children did not come, however, and at the expiration of a week there were suspicious that the man was an impostor. As he did not pay his board, or make his appearance to answer, the husband of the landlady went in search of him, and found him seated in a brggy with a disreputable woman, and making tracks for other parts unknown. Crimination and recrimination ensued, a fight followed, and the would-be deceiver was lodged in jail till something further is ascertained of him.

I learn that an unpleasant reception is intended for Mr. Jefferson at the theater to-night, growing out of a prejudice excited against him in consequence of his imrersonation of a Yankee character in Bourcicault's play of the "Octoroon," which is, naturally enough, very offensive to the people of the South.

Exchange on New-York is quoted at 5 per cent; Philade'pl in and Baltimore, 4 per cent. Specie, 21 to 4 per cent premium.

## FEELING IN KENTUCKY.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Dec. 4, 1860. Notwithstanding the Southern hubbub and excite ment, and especially the riotous, revolutionary demonstrations in the kingdom of South Carolina, our good con nonwealth of Kentucky still continues loyal to the Unica. Because one of her sons, when quite young, close to migrate to a Free State, and, "in the course of hunan events," and the fluctuations of parties, has become the President elect of the United Statesbecause he has risen to be a President, Kentucky can not yet consent to detach herself from the Union.

Mr. Lincoln is not such a raw-head-and-bloody-bones tl at we need be frightened at him. People of sense in this State know perfectly well that he cannot touch the 'peculiar institution," even if he desired to do so; and most of them know, also, that Mr. Lincoln is too wise

to wish to make any such attempt.

There are, it is true, some "green-horns" in the rural districts who affect to believe that the election of a Republican Chief Magistrate has a tendency to make tle negro market fluctuate, and give the aforesaid sable and saddle-colored commodity an upward (Canadian) tendency, yet the most of us here see no difference at all.

As to the twaddle that the slaves in the border States have become so insolent since Lincoln's election as to te insupportable, it is simply bosh.

It was reported that the negroes believed that if Mr. L. were elected they would all be set free. So it was believed by them at Polk's and Pierce's election, as I ave lean told by people in different parts of the State. And if the poor, ignorant creatures did give credence to the report in the present case, whom, I should like to know, are we to blame as the infamous authors of this dangerous slander but the opposition journals of this and other Slave States?

They, for party purposes, have gotten up the whole story; they should remember that people can't play with edged too's wish impunity. However, there is no truth in the reported insolence of the slaves. I have lived in Kentucky during the last twenty-six or seven years-having in fact been born here about that long gc-(I remember being present on the occasion), and I on't see any more change in the negroes than if we had never had an election.

An old friend of mine, who owns thirty or forty ne gross, and lives some distance from the city, though only five miles from the Ohio River, said to me What the d--l do we want a dissolution of the Union for? Do you see that blue, misty range of We were standing upon the portice, and looking to the westward, as the sun sank in a gorgeous fush of crimson and gold. I looked in the direction he indicated, and answered: "Yes." "That is Indiana?" said the old gentleman quietly, "and is about five miles distant !

" Fact, Sir. But when these d-d Palmetto'treed South Carolina fanatics dissolve the Union-if Old Buck, is cowardly enough to let 'em-then that (pointing to the blue, misty outline) will be Canada; and our negroes will steer North because there will be no Fugitive Slave law over there. Do you see what Yancey and Rhett want to bring to our doors?"

" I see it very distinctly, Mr. ---, though it must b at least five miles distant." We laughed, and turned into the house. Supper was

ready, and one of the perambulating, peculiar institutions had just given us notice of the fact. He must have been worth at least \$300. Suppose that nigger," said Mr. ---, as he left us should take unto himself legs he doesn't lack heels -and some dark night should go North for his health,

how ought I to enter him in my books ?" Not to the Republicans," I rejoined. No, that's so. But I would enter in my ledger, W L. Yancey & Co., debtor, '1 likely negro boy, \$900. I wish South Carolina were only situated where Florida is." (We sat down to the table.) "Then," said the old gentleman, cutting a slice of bread into the re-

quired shape, "she would resemble that." Yee, Sir, that's Florida-almost a peninsula," said I. Well" continued Mr. - "I, with thousands of other slaveholders in Kentucky, Tennessee and the border States, would say Cut heroff"-and he savagely suited the action to the word, as per advice of Hamlet to the players and skahed the slice in two, "and let her go to the d-l by a largely increased majority-"I don't think ther what do you say, ch?" would be many tears shed hereabout." "No, sir-ee But quiet secession! Why, such a thing is an absurd ity. Secession is emphatically revolution, treason, and anarchy! Wife, give me a cup of your bottest teaugh! I only wish Old Buck had the pluck to hang the first fellow of them who dares to resist the collection of Uncle Sam's revenue. These are my sentiments. And I may add, in justice to my venerable friend, they

are the sentiments of the majority of the people of the

border States. Witness the enthusiastic Union meetings everywhere. But as to the Old Public Function-

ary, we may address him as Junius did the King in his mous letter of 19th December, 1769:

"From one false step you have been betrayed info another.

1 our ministers have reduced you to the necessity of boosing out of a variety of difficulties; to a situation so unhappy, sat you can neither do aroug without role, nor right without

And, as Sir Wm. Blackstone says, in summing up he relative merits of elective government and heredi

plenetic and disappointed minority, and if suspicious of injus-ce are true, the injustice may be remedied by legal means by a special to those tribunals to which every member of society is (by becoming such) cirtually engaged to submit."

So saith Blackstone; but what do the Palmetto-tree folks care for him, or for Jefferson, or even Washington? There was a time when we had a President, one Andrew Jackson: but we have changed all that, In most of the Cabinets manufactured for Mr. Lincoln

by the newspaper correspondente, Cassius M. Cla '. name finds a place. In fact, Mr. Clay occupies such an monalous position in the politics of the country that Mr. Lincoln will undoubtedly offer him a seat as one of his Ministers. The Republican party is so peculiarly diffused in Kentucky that though there are enough of to elect Mr. Clay to Congress, yet even if he would be willing to serve his party there, we are so scattered over the State that we couldn't elect him. Mr. Lincoln's vote in Kentucky, about 1,400, is no test at all. It was, I know, the earnest desire of the Republican leaders in the State, that all who sympathized with and desired the success of our ticket should come out flat-footed for Lincoln. But they didn't do it. Many of them are business men, tradesmen, and persons in the humbler walks of life with families to support, and they did not like to see their bread basket empty and lose patronage by being termed Abolition iste. And so all these voters seeing no earthly or heavenly chance of giving the State to Lincoln, threw their united strength upon the Bell and Everett's, in eder to defeat the disunionists' candidate, Breckinridge.

#### NO BACKING DOWN! To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

Sie: To say that the Republicans of Western New York are surprised at the tone and evident purpose o two or three articles which have recently appeared in The Albany Evening Journal, would be a very tame expression of the prevailing sentiment through all this part of the State. Not only do they meet with no faor among those whom The Journal has been wont to designate as " sound and reliable," but they excite mazement in many quarters, and provoke undisguised ndignation from influential sources. They are regarded as giving up all that we have been struggling for since the organization of the Republican party, and which we thought we had achieved in the election of Lincoln and Hamlin. Great numbers now belonging to that party have been battling for its leading principles ever since the project of Texas menexation was broached, twenty years and more ago. Some of its most active and valuable members embraced those principles at even an earlier period. Others, and especially those of Democratic antecedents (and how important an ele-

ment of the party they constitute need only to be suggested!) avowed these dectrines during the memorable struggles over the Wilmot Proviso, in 1847-8. The avalanche which followed the repeal of the prohibitory clause of the Missouri Compromise, ultimating in the organization which has just won a national triumph, was not the conversion of great masses of men to new principles, but rather the loosening of these masses from old parties, and precipitating them into a new party, whose fundamental doctrines they had long before embraced. In a word, the principles of the Republican party did not spring from the organization, but the organization was the legitimate offspring of principles long cherished by members of old and hostile

The great body of the Republican party have, there fore, been laboring for the success of these principles for periods of ten, fifteen, twenty and twenty-five ears. For six or eight years past, and especially duing the Presidential contests of 1856 and 1860, these principles have been expounded and illustrated, through the press and from the platform, in the Northern States, more fully and clearly than any political questions that ever before agitated the American recople, or indeed any other people on earth. The mmense vote just cast for Lincoln and Hamlin was the most intelligent, honest, determined testimony ever nttered through the ballot-boxes or at the hustings in this or any other country. The mass of men who gave it have not their peers for intelligence, virtue, downright honesty of purpose, clear appreciation of what they are doing, and unfaltering determination to stand by their acts, upon the face of the wide

Now, anybody who supposes that any considerable number of those who gave that vote, can be induced that they have won in this triumph, is either a vulgar colitician, incarable of rising to the level of the sub line principles at stake in this contest, or an arrant foel who is yet to learn the character of the men he is dealing with. The great mass of Republicans feel and know that in the election of Lincoln they have neither done nor meditated any harm to, any aggres sicn upon, the rights of any section of the Uni-They know that if they can succeed in doing all that they have undertaken, they will be merely recovering set ground, merely restoring the country to the post tion, in regard to Slavery, where the fathers placed , and from which it has been dragged by the Negro Propagandists of the Calhoun school. They will, efore, adhere to their position. This they will do for the two-fold reason that it is right, and because to retreat from it would not placate their enomies, who now threaten to break up the Union, and are bent upon eccesion, not because Lincoln is elected, not because few States have enacted "Personal Liberty" laws, not because they anticipate that any unconstitutional messure will be adopted by the incoming Administration, but because the irresistable march of free principles and free labor is creating free States, is giving free institutions a steadily increasing preponderance in both branches of Congress, and the time has come when the minority section of the Union, which has so long ruled the country for the advancement of Slavery, must yield to the Constitutional sway of the liberty-loving

So deeply rooted are these convictions and purpose n the minds of the vast majority of the Republicans of Central, Northern, and Western New-York, that if, or instance, a State Convention should assemble, and through any process of packing or manipulating, could be induced to approbate the measures recently promul-gated in The Journal, at least four-fifths of the party in the localities indicated would refuse to follow the lead of such a Convention. Yea, they would, if need be, summon another Convention, which would rally around it the large body of the Republicans in this State. And any prominent statesman of the party who should attempt to engraft these measures upon the policy of the nation would be killed stone dead. The case of the people who rolled up the mighty majorities for Luccoln and Hamlin in the Central, Northern, and Western Counties of the State, knew what they were doing when they acted, and now that they see the result they are not sorry for the deed. They fought the battle, not for the plunder which would follow victory, but to maintain the principles at stake in the contest The ambitious leaders, or mere camp followers, who hang around the purlieus of the Commissariat, or even a few thousand timid soldiers, may desert the cause in the hour of trial; the principles will remain, and, like the magnet, they will draw around them the sterling metal, while the dross sloughs off.

Henry Clay brought Missouri into the Union as a Slave State, against the general sentiment of the free North. The memory of the deed always stood in the path of his Presidential aspirations. Lewis Case wrote the Nicholson letter, scoffing at the Wilmot Proviso. In the name of Jeffersonian Democracy, the Barnburners of New-York put him to death. Frightene from his propriety, Daniel Webster repudiated his life-long principles on the 7th of March, 1850. Newturned his face to the wall, and gave up the ghost

Stephen A. Douglas smots Freedom to the heart by repealing the prohibitory clause of the Missouri act. The people have buried him under an avalanche of reproba tion. Let Compromisers be warned by their fate!

Rochester, Dec. 1, 1300. WESTERN NEW-YOR. WESTERN NEW-YORK.

MESSAGE OF THE GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 26, 1860.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representative:

The crisis, long expected by men of observation, has at length come. A series of aggressions and insults, can a cating terty years ago, by the Northern States against the Southern, and increasing in audacity as time relied on and the South forbore, has been pushed to a roint at which further forbearance of the South would justify the allegation that we "are afraid to resist". The election of Lincoln and Hamlin to the two high-

est effices in the Confederacy, viewed in connection with the circumstances that led to the result, and the determination of Northern fanatics to urge their mad schenes, regardless of the welfare and the security of the Southern people, ought to extinguish may desire of the latter to prolong their connection with those who show such an utter disregard of covenanted rights and

show such an utter disregard of covenanted rights and rlighted faith.

I will not insult your intelligence or trespass on your patience by recounting the aggressions already perpetrated, or by referring to those that must follow our submission. For myself, in full view of the responsibility of my position, I most decidedly declare that, in my ophnion, the only hope the Southern States have for domestic peace and safety, or for fature respects bility and prosperity, is dependent on their action now; and that the proper action is—Secession from our faithless, perjurid confederates.

But some Southern men, it is said, object to secession until some overt act of unconstitutional power

But some Southern men, it is said, object to seression until some overt act of unconstitutional power
shall have been committed by the General Government; that we ought not to secede until the President
and Congress unite in passing an act unequivocally hostile to our institutions, and fraught with immediate
danger to our rights of property and to our domestic
safety. My countrymen! if we wait for such an overt
act, our fate will be that of the white inhabitants of
St. Domingo.

But why wait for this overt act of the General Government? When is that Government? It is but the

ernment? What is that Government? It is but the trustee, the common agent of all the States, appointed by them to manage their affairs according to a written by them to manage their affairs according by them to manage their affaire according to a written constitution or power of attorney. Should the sover-eign States, then—the principals and the partners in the association—for a moment tolerate the idea that their action must be graduated by the will of their agents? The idea is preposterous.

Let it be constantly had in mind, this essential difference between the relation in which the thirteen Colonies stood to the British Empire and its Government and that relation which the States of this Union

ment, and that relation which the States of this Unio ment, and that relation which the state of this occupy toward the Federal power and authority.

The Colonies were fractional parts of one consolidated State. They had no separate organization or powers, except such as they derived from the King and Par-liament of Great Britain, consequently they stood in the same relation to that Government that the counties of Florida do to the State Government. But how ties of Florida do to the State Government. But how different is our condition! Our General Government was created by separate, independent, Sovereign States. It was established for certain specified pur-poses, defined by a Constitution, which Constitution is a compact between the Sovereign States who created s compact between the Sovereign States who created it, and all who have become parties to it. The Colorists were subjects of the British Crown. This they often acknowledged by petitizing that power for a removal of their grievances. When, therefore, they related the authority of their confessed sovereign, they placed themselves in a state of rebellion, the purpose of which was revolution. They know this, yet did they falter even with the penalty of treason staring them in the face? No—they met in Conventions—they declared "that Governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed—that they were instituted to protect the people in the enjoyment of life, literty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." Had they failed to maintain their asserted rights by the sword, they would have been amenable to the penalties denounced against treason. But they succeeded in establishing their independence. After this consummation of their noble struggle, the collection is the several Colories, then acknowledged But they succeeded in establishing their independence. After this consumnation of their noble struggle, the Jectle of the several Colonies, then acknowledged to be free and independent States, formed a new Confederation by framing and adopting, volunturily, and each one for itself, that Constitution which is so flagitionly violated by many of the parties to the comrect of frateurity. ract of fraternity.

The preamble to this Constitution recites the pur-

The preamble to this Constitution recites the purposes for which it was ordained, among which are tiese: "To establish justice, insure domestic tranquility," &c. Has it effected these objects? Let the question be answered by the forty years' war waged by the Northern States upon the just rights of the Southern; by the statute books of those States, dis graced with laws expressly designed to defraud us of our property, and at the same time insulting us with the ata of Lie and imprisonment, if we seek to reclaim our property, even through the operation of that Constitution which they seek seem to support. Let it be answered by the machinations of finatics, and of cold-blooded knaves, to destroy our "domestic tranquility," and this not only by secret sedition and insurrection, but also by avowed efforts, now nearly consumnated, to pervert all the powers of a common Government to the perpetration of their fieudish crimes.

Such, fellow-citizens, is a meager outline only of the

Such, fellow-citizen, is a meager outline only of the pictures of wrang and outrage that we are expected to endure unresistingly. But shall we endure it? Heaven forbid! Forbid it memory and the example of those noble patriots who pledged their "lives, their fortunes and their excred honor" to maintain their liberty and the interest of which is the state of the state and their sacred honor." to maintain their liberty and their rights. Shall we, the descendants of such sires, relinquish the rich inheritance thus acquired? Must we jeepard our present security and our future existence as a free people, by stopping now to reargue the abstract question of the right of secession? I have already adverted to the important difference between the political responsibilities of the people of the thirteen old colories and these which stach to the people of the United States. The former being subjects, could not withdraw for more forcibly oppose their government without an act from or forcibly oppose their government without an act of rebellion, for although they declared in their right to targe their government, they were fully awar right depended upon their success in maintaining it.
Not so with regard to the people of these States. They are not subjects but currens—itizens, owing their first are not subjects but citizens—itizens, owing their first and highest allegiance to the respective sovereign States. While the States remain in the Union, the citizens may commit an act of rebellion against their particular States, or against the Union, that States. But the moment that a State, in her tovereign capacity, declares a dissolution of the Federal ties, her citizens are absolved from all resonnitility to the Federal Government, and the State released from all conventional obligations to her former associates. And more than this—a palpable infraction by one or more of the others, releases the latter from their obligations to the covenanted rights of one or more of the others, releases the latter from their obligations to the compact. And of such This of one or more of the others, releases the latter from their obligations to the compact. And of such infractions and "the mode and measures of redress," each State has the right to judge for itself. This is a right inherent in States, and can only be alienated by their voluntary set. In the Constitution of the United States there is no relinquishment of this right—no transfer of it to any other power, tribunal or judge. The right censequently remains to the State, perfect and unimpaired, and it were purils to dispute about the name of the thing when the time has come for proving its efficacy.

proving its efficacy.

Entertaining these views, I most earnestly recommend a call of a Convention of the people of the State, at an early day, to take such action as in their judgment may be necessary to protect and preserve the nights, honor, and safety, of the people of Florida. I would further recommend a revision of the militia hws, with a view to a more effective organization of the military, and an appropriation of \$100,000 as a military fund for the ensuing year, to be expended as fast as the public necessities may require.

Very respectfully.

M. S. PERRY.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM MR. RUST. WASHINGTON, December 1, 1800. To the Editors of The National Intelligeneer

To the Editors of The National Intelligence.

GENTLEMEN: In your paper of the 29th ultimo you republish a letter from myself to members of the General Assembly of Arkansas, written upon the eve of ny departure from my home to this city, as indicative of the public sentiment of that State upon the grave questions which at present engross all thought and interest among all classes of the people in the Southern section of the Confederacy.

While that letter was turriedly written, and without a thought of its circulation beyond the limits of my own

while that letter was hurriedly written, and without a thought of its circulation beyond the limits of my own State, and while I would not abandon a position as sunged or sentiment expressed in it, candor requires me to confess that it was also written under a gross misconception of what I now believe to be the controlling feeling and purpose of the people in a majority of the Slave States of the Union.

Slave States of the Union.

My own opinions are unchanged, and what I said of
the wishes of nine-tenths of the people of Arkansas, if
properly reflected by her Representatives, is confirmed properly reflected by her Representatives, is confirmed by the two lending papers of the State, Democratic and Opposition, in their issues next after the publica-tion of my letter. But I cannot, nor can Arkanasa, control that majority of States to which I have just re-

To trace the dangers and difficulties that environ us to the sources from which they have sprung, and to fasten the responsibility for them where it justly be-belongs, would be of no avail. No man has deprecated more than myrelf the senseless and criminal agitation which has at last culminated in revolution, and no na feels less charity for its authors than I do. But crimination, or even criticism, of mon or measures, of parties or States, is now neither the part of wisdom

ner patriotiem. Such a course would only tend to be creese and multiply the obstacles, already, I am sufficiently great and numerous, to a peaceful and last

orable recommodation.

My reluctance to obtrude my poor opinions and activities upon the general public is extreme, and activities upon the general public is extreme, and activities once degree lead public men in the North to erroscome conclusions as to the state of feeling at the South, each

some degree lead public men in the North to erroscott conclusions as to the state of feeling at the South, eachies me to overcome it.

At every step of my progress from Arkansas to Washington I was anazed to witness how wide-spread and intense was the feeling of resentment and hostility among men of all parties, from Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennescee, Alabama, Georgia, Texas, and the Carlinae—I met with citizens of each one of these Statestoward the people of the North, who have elected a President upon the sole issue of hostility to their constitut onal rights; and, before I had accomplished half my journey, I became convinced that the efforts of the conservative men of the South, under existing circumstances, without having their position strengthened by material concessions and guarantees from the North, to prevent or impede revolution, with all of its cartain, probable and possible consequences, would be as futile as to attempt to arrest the course of the Missippi by throwing straws into its current.

It is with me a sad but profound conviction that the only power on earth which can avert this catastropheresides in the Northern States. It cannot be disquised that in a number of the Southern States there is a large and respectable party—respectable in numbers, and for the high character and talent that it embraces, extended, too, by what it considers the most patrious motive—which desires the overthrow of the processions from the North as will deptive them of the

motives—which desires the overthrow of the processions from the North as will deprive them of the central of the policy of their several States, and thwart their most cherished purposes.

Let the North come forward in a spirit of justice, which will do honor to her, with a voluntary tender of the grand guaranties for the peformance through all future time of all her constitutional obligations to the South; thereby wrest power in the South from the hands of the discunionets "per se;" place the conservative elements in all the Southern States but one in the seendent, and all may yet be well. If demanding the seendent, and all may yet be well. If demanding of her people as to render this impracticable, I fear that the developments of the next four weeks will convince the most incredulous as to the condition of the rough agents appointed for the purpose, to agree upon fair and peaceble terms of separation.

While conservative men at the South are being driven by the force of events to acquiece in a measure the rest of the most temper.

en by the force of events to acquiece in a measure in the policy of the more ultra, some of the most temper-ate and forbeauing among them are gradually coming to the conclusion that the existing sectional troubles had better be rettled in the Union, or out of it, in a manner that admits of no debate or disturbance now or

namer that admits of no debate or disturbance now or hereafter forever.

There are few men in the South who would not prefer the experiment of almost any change of Government to that under which there should be a recurrence every four years of the distrees, ruin, and bankrapter which many have already realized, and with which all are threatened at this time. If the political water shall be broken up, and our whole system of gevernment reduced to choos, a temporary pacification, if agreed upon by politicians, should not be ratified by the people. The evils of which they complain should be extir ated, root and branch, not alleviated. The cure should be thorough, radical, and permanent, not the patching up of a rickety constitution to prolong its sickly existence for a few years, more or less.

Prepared, as I always shall be, to treat with greed deference the counsels of older and wiser men than myself, allow me to suggest, for what it is worth, a plan of settlement which I believe would be accepted by the South, should be granted by the North, which would be permanent, and out of which no future question could grow that would produce sectional estrangement and controversy. I will premise that no section net and controversy.

would be permanent, and out of which no future ques-tion could grow that would produce sectional estrang-nent and controversy. I will premise that no settle-ment that does not provide effectually and permanently against the agitation and discussion of the Slavery question by either the Federal or State Governments can give peace and security to the people of the Slavery States. States.

Let there be a Convention of all the States of the

Let there be a Convention of all the States of the existing Union. Let the representatives of the Slave States in that Convention agree among themselves and submit to the North the conditions upon which they would remain in the Union. We will hope (assuming that they would only be such as the honor and safety of the Southern people required their representatives to den and) that they would be accepted by all the Free States. If not by all, then by such of them as are willing to enter into a union with the Slave States which will effectually secure to their people all the rights recentized by the existing Constitution; if by none, then let the representatives from the two sections agree upon the terms of separation, and the Slave States adopt a new Constitution and refer it to their constituents for ratification.

States adopt a new Constitution and refer it to their constituents for ratification.

What should be the ultimatim of the Slave States if the present Union should be perpetuated? First, agree upon sone im which shall be extended to the Pacific occup, north of which Slavery shall never be ocablished by Congress in any territory that may now belong to or may hereafter be acquired by the Government of the United States. Provide that south of the same line Slavery shall not be interdicted in any territory belonging to, or that may hereafter be acquired by the General Government, by the Federal Legislabliture, by the Territorial Legislature, or by the Legislature, of the Legislature of States that may be formed out of the same. Let the right of the slaveholder to go and shide upon any of this territory be inslicable and perpetual. Allow no one of the present Slave States to abolish the institution by legislative enactment without the assent of all the other Slave States. It is only by degree of ell the other Slave or first the other save states. The states of the ing to the legislative bodies everywhere under our Government the power to impair or asset the rights of property in slaves that you give per mannet peace and security to the slaveholder. Tea thereby neither multiply the number of slaves nor make any citizen an involuntarry slaveholder. If a majority of my neighbors, more deeply imbued with the feelings and principles of Christianity than myself, cannot resist the an gument which the small remuneration for the labor of their slave where they live, and the tempting offers which the profits of the culture of super and cotton enable the Southern planter to make them for the slaves themselves, addresses to their consciences in favor of the sinfulness of the institution, and wits them to the highest bidder without inquiring whether the new master is kind and humane or oruse and brutal, there is no possible reason to be assigned. and brutal, there is no possible reason to be assigned why I and the minority should be compelled to follow

their example.
The Free-Soiler regards Slavery as a sin. The Pretestant denounces the creed of the Catholic as supersti-tions and hererical, and but for the first article in the An endments to the Constitution, which declares Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise there of, our Government would long ago have been dis-graced by an "irrepressible conflict" between Protest-antism and Catholicism.

graced by an "irrepressible conflict" between Protestantism and Catholicism.

If a Confederation was formed exclusively of the Slave States, in a little while demagogues would raise the question of emancipation in at least half of them, if not compelled to silence by such a provision in the organic law as I have suggested. It should be made the duty of the Government of Free States (if any) that may enter with the Slave States into a new Confederation to sid in the execution of an effectual Fugitive Slave law, and means provided by which the performance of this duty can be enforced.

Having thus disposed of the Slavery question, there is another that should be settled in the same way. I have reference, of course, to that of taxation. Under our present revenue system the Southern agriculturiate will become a mere overseer, agent, or tenant for the tenefit of his Northern neighbor. I regard this as more vital question to the South than that of Slavery itself. When the care and responsibility connected with the institution shall become all that an unequal and oppressive system of taxation have left to the shave-owner, and the profits shall be monopolized (they now enjoy a large share of them) by the people of bottle and aggressive States, we will, if we cannot successfully resist and overthrow the system, voluntarily surrender the institution itself. We will have no motive for perpetuating the "leegue with hell" and the "sum of human villance" for the benefit of these cosefully resist and overthrow the system, voluntarily surrender the institution itself. We will have no motive for perpetuating the "league with hell" and the "sum of human villanies" for the benefit of these who so characterize it. Besides, if the South would aubn't to a system so unjust, with the increasing revenues of our Government and the more rapid deterioration of political morals, gentlemen quite as sanguine as myself anticipate its destruction on odistant day by its own profligacy and corruptions. Let a tariff be agreed upon which will produce barely sufficient revenues to carry on the Government, honestly and economically administered, and by a constitutional provision make it the maximum that shall ever hereafter be levied. Provide for its extra ordinary expenses by direct taxation. I doubt if such a tax would ever be no essary. Gentlemen who now vote for the most extravigant appropriations by Congress, without considering the justice or propriety of them, would, under such a system, scrutimize every bill appropriating the public money as closely as they would if members of their State Legislatures. The vocations of "claim agents" and "go-betweens" the

would if members of their State Legislatures. The vo-cations of "claim agents" and "go-betweens" the Government and its contractors would be gone. We would have what is technically called "jobs" no more forever, and the Republic might recover that respect and confidence of the people which it enjoyed in its earlier and bet e days.

I take it for granted that if we have a purely South-ern or Slave-Labor Confederacy we will immediately imaggrate free-trade inits unqualified sense. The people of the South are not to be alarmed at the sight of the tax-gatherer. It will not be difficult to convince the least sollightened among them that it will be infanitely better fer them to pay one deliar directly than ten in